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*63] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy
[152] that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kalds. At the center of their domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Tefwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kald's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït 'Addi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

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institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Alt Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Alt Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Alt Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Alt Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

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178 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

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625 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

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697 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
671 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,

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671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

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182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

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726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated; and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Alt Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

[682] During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction of the Alt Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chittithi, chief of the Alt Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

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• [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the ore of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Alt Ou Azzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Alt Tinkert, the Alt Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

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[598] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the infias of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

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175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
 *634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
 726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
 *631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
 [727] Tanger /Tangier/. 'Omar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then
 assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Seba^c, then arrived at Adasil and /314/
 repulsed the Alt Ga'ir and the whole leff of the mountain
 "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
 159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
 *634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
 697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
 [648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
 summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
 [776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
 providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali,"
 in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back
 to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden
 under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar
 took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the
 searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
 [778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla 'Aziza,
 [782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow; a "chantouf,"
 which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house
 of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since 'Omar Touz-
 159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
 *634 port Emir 'Abd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
 726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
 616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
 [648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
 After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and de-
 clared they were quits. Si 'Omar even married the sister of the
 amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his for-
 tress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

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616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their left of origin.

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554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

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178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebhan in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or left enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

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178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

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152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened (648) from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other